

Message Text

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PAGE 01 HELSIN 01254 120954 Z

50

ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 IO-12 STR-08 NIC-01 ACDA-19 CIAE-00

PM-09 INR-10 L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

GAC-01 USIA-12 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 CU-04 EB-11

AF-10 H-02 NSC-10 SS-15 RSR-01 /173 W

----- 045558

R 120840 Z MAY 73

FM AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6100

INFO ALL CSCE CAPITALS 229

USMISSION BERLIN

SECDEF WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L HELSINKI 1254

E. O.: 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, OCON

SUBJ: CSCE: PRINCIPLES OF INTER- STATE RELATIONS

REFS: A. HELSINKI 1198

B. HELSINKI 1136

C. STATE 85711

D. STATE 84343

VIENNA FOR USDEL MBFR

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: INFORMAL DRAFTING SESSIONS ON MAY 9 AND 11 PRODUCED FURTHER PROGRESS TOWARD AN AGREED TEXT OF THE BASKET I MANDATE LANGUAGE WHICH WOULD INTRODUCE AN ILLUSTRATIVE LIST OF PRINCIPLES OF INTER- STATE RELATIONS. THERE IS PROSPECT OF AD REF. AGREEMENT NEXT WEEK ON A REVISED VERSION OF THE SWEDISH DRAFT (REF. B) WITH MINIMUM OF BRACKETS (IF ANY).

2. SOVIETS HAVE SHOWN CONSIDERABLE WILLINGNESS IN THESE DISCUSSIONS TO ACCOMMODATE BASIC ALLIED REQUIREMENTS, AND US AND FRG DELS HAVE WORKED IN COMPLETE AGREEMENT THROUGHOUT. EFFORTS BY
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PAGE 02 HELSIN 01254 120954 Z

ALLIED DELS AND ROMANIANS TO STRENGTHEN LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO COUNTER SOVIET INTERVENTION DOCTRINE HAVE MET WITH REASONABLE SUCCESS, AND DRAFT LANGUAGE ON LINKAGE OF PRINCIPLES HAS BEEN INTRODUCED FOR DISCUSSION. RE SOURCES OF PRINCIPLES, PORTUGUESE INSIST THAT PRINCIPLES DECLARATION BE DRAFTED " IN CONFORMITY WITH THE PURPOSES AND PRINCIPLES OF THE UN CHARTER", AND ALLIES STILL PUSHING FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION. END SUMMARY.

2. FURTHER GUIDANCE (REFTELS C AND D) ON SOURCES AND LINKAGE OF PRINCIPLES, LANGUAGE COUNTERING SOVIET INTERVENTION DOCTRINE, AND SAFEGUARDING OF FOUR- POWER RIGHTS HAS BEEN MOST USEFUL IN OUR EFFORTS TO WORK TOWARD AGREED LANGUAGE WHICH WILL MEET US AND GENERAL ALLIED REQUIREMENTS, PARTICULARLY THOSE OF FRG RELATING TO TREATMENT OF INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS AND NON- USE OF FORCE.

3. LANGUAGE BEARING ON SOVIET INTERVENTION DOCTRINE: INFORMAL AGREEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED TO INSERT IN SWEDISH DRAFT REFERENCES TO APPLICATION OF PRINCIPLES BY " EACH PARTICIPATING STATE... IN ITS RELATIONS WITH ALL OTHER PARTICIPATING STATES", AND TO THE APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES BY THE PARTICIPATING STATES " IN THEIR MUTUAL RELATIONS IN ORDER TO ENSURE TO ALL PARTICIPATING STATES THE BENEFITS RESULTING FROM THE APPLICATION OF THESE PRINCIPLES BY ALL." ADDITIONAL REFERENCES TO APPLICATION " TO EACH PARTICIPATING STATE" AND TO " REGARDLESS OF MEMBERSHIP WITH OTHER STATES IN SAME SUCH (POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, OR SOCIAL) SYSTEM" HAVE NOT BEEN OBTAINABLE, BUT KEY ALLIED DELS (NOTABLY FRG, UK) SHARE OUR CONFIDENCE THAT FINAL AD REF. AGREEMENT WILL MEET OUR BASIC OBJECTIVES.

4. SAFEGUARDING OF FOUR- POWER RIGHTS: US DEL PUT FORWARD AND DEFENDED CHANGE OF LAST WORD IN PHRASE " RESPECT AND APPLY THE PRINCIPLES EQUALLY AND UNRESERVEDLY" TO " UNEQUIVOCALLY". HOWEVER, PROPOSAL WON LITTLE SUPPORT. SEVERAL ALLIED DELS PREFER RETENTION OF " UNRESERVEDLY" IN TERMS OF SOVIET INTERVENTION DOCTRINE, WHILE SOVIETS STATE THAT RUSSIAN TRANSLATION OF " UNEQUIVOCALLY" IS IN FACT STRONGER THAN THAT OF " UNRESERVEDLY". PRESSING THIS POINT TOO HARD COULD, IN OUR VIEW, JEOPARDIZE IMPROVEMENTS SOUGHT IN OTHER PORTIONS OF THE DRAFT, AND WE WOULD NOT PROPOSE TO INSIST ON IT.

5. SOURCES OF PRINCIPLES: ITALIANS CONTINUE TO ARGUE THAT SOME
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PAGE 03 HELSIN 01254 120954 Z

REFERENCE SHOULD BE MADE TO UN FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION, AS WELL AS TO " PRINCIPLES AND PURPOSES OF THE UN". PORTUGUESE CONTINUE TO INSIST ON ADDITION OF WORD " CHARTER" TO THIS PHRASE (WITH THEIR OVERSEAS TERRITORIES IN MIND). MENDELEVICH HAS HINTED TO VEST POSSIBILITY OF ACCEPTING FRIENDLY RELATIONS DECLARATION.

6. LINKAGE OF PRINCIPLES: NO LANGUAGE ON LINKAGE YET ENJOYS GENERAL SUPPORT, BUT ITALIANS AND UK HAVE PUT FORWARD LANGUAGE DESIGNED TO SAFEGUARD ALLIED POSITION, WHICH SOVIET REP HAS UNDERTAKEN TO CONSIDER. THIS WOULD CALL ON THE CSCE COMMITTEE TO " ALSO EXAMINE THE MANNER IN WHICH THESE PRINCIPLES ARE RELATED TO EACH OTHER." THERE IS ALSO A PROPOSAL ON THE TABLE FOR ADDING PHRASE " THOSE BASIC PRINCIPLES, TAKEN AS A WHOLE" AT APPROPRIATE PLACE IN DRAFT, BUT THIS SEEMS LESS LIKELY TO PROVE ACCEPTABLE TO THE SOVIETS.

7. LIST OF PRINCIPLES: THERE IS GROWING PRESUMPTION THAT LIST OF PRINCIPLES ITSELF WILL NOT PRESENT MAJOR OBSTACLE ONCE INTRODUCTORY LANGUAGE IS AGREED. SWISS LIST (WHICH ENJOYS ALLIED SUPPORT) REMAINS BASIS FOR THE " FINAL" DRAFTING WHICH IS TO BEGIN NEXT WEEK. WHITE

NOTE BY OC/ T: STATE 85711 NOT SENT HELSINKI. CORRECT REF NOT IDENTIFIED

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*** Current Handling Restrictions *** n/a

*** Current Classification *** CONFIDENTIAL

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: PFOR
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 MAY 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: golinofr
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973HELSIN01254
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: HELSINKI
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730545/aaaajgeg.tel
Line Count: 135
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: A.HELSINKI 1198, B.HELSINKI 1136, C.STATE 85711, D.STATE 84343
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: golinofr
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 17 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <17-Aug-2001 by martinml>; APPROVED <09-Nov-2001 by golinofr>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: <DBA CORRECTED> mcm 980213
Subject: CSCE: PRINCIPLES OF INTER- STATE RELATIONS
TAGS: PFOR, OCON
To: ALL CSCE CAPITALS 229
BERLIN
EUR
SECSTATE WASHDC
WASHDC
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005

